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Justice

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

7-8-1927

Justice (Vol. 9, Iss. 27)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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Keywords

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ILGWU, labor unions, clothing workers, textile workers, garment workers, garment industry, New York, United States

Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

"My righteousness I hold fast; and will not let it go."
—Job 27:6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Vol. IX, No. 27

NEW YORK, N. Y., FRIDAY, JULY 8, 1927

PRICE 3 CENTS

Third Conference With Raincoat Ass'n Next Week

General Member Meeting of Local 20 Rejects Demands of Employers

As reported a few weeks ago, the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union of New York, Local 20, conferred with the newly formed raincoat manufacturers' association on the terms of a collective agreement. The last meeting with these employers was also attended by President Sigman.

Much to the astonishment of the Union's executives, the leaders of the association presented to the workers a counterdemand that they be granted "reorganization" rights such as the Communists had donated last year to the Industrial Council. But the members of the raincoat makers' local, at a general meeting last week, indignantly rejected this demand and instructed their representatives so to inform their employers.

The next conference with the association, which is likely to be the final one, will take place next Monday, July 11. The union will insist on the manufacturers opening inside shops as a condition to the signing of a collective agreement. The raincoat workers will insist that the petty contracting system which these manufacturers until now have encouraged and fostered be eliminated and that large scale production units where the workers' interests can be better protected be introduced in the market.

Communist 'Secret Picket Committee' Plans Assault on Loyal Union Men

List of Prospective Victims Includes Philip Kurinsky of "Justice" Staff, M. Feinberg of Local 9, Israel Feinstein of Local 22, S. Sterman of Local 35, Jos. Levinson and N. Rubin of Local 2. "They Must Be Taught a Lesson" Is Terror Slogan

During the "demonstration" staged by the Communists on Saturday afternoon, June 25, on Union Square, Brother Philip Kurinsky, of the editorial staff of "Justice," who happened to cross the Square on his way to the subway at 14th Street and Fourth Avenue, was assaulted by a Communist camp follower.

He reported the fact to the General Office, but though he recognized his assailant, the matter was dropped at his own request, because as Bro. Kurinsky explained at that time, "the man, drunk with the hooligan speeches delivered by the Communist orators" was hardly responsible for his savagery."

The General Office, however, has learned now from trustworthy sources that this attack upon Kurinsky was not entirely the spontaneous outburst of an individual Communist hooligan, but is the result of a definite tactic of terrorism adopted at a secret meeting of the so-called Communist-Left "Secret picket committee," which is still operating as a sort of a "Cheka" aftermath of the last cloak strike and the more recent miscarried fur "strikes." As a matter of fact, the agents of this "Cheka" tried last Monday to "get" Bro. Feinberg, ex-member of the executive board of

Freed Prisoners Get Big Ovation at Webster

Great Crowd Greet With Stormy Applause Talks By Figowitz, Lenz, Porensky and Cohen—Liberated Pickets Give Account of Communist Plot to "Frame Up" President Sigman—Adopt Resolution Damning Communists—International Opens Way for Freeing Other Imprisoned Cloakmakers.

On Wednesday afternoon, June 29, more than 2,000 cloakmakers and dressmakers gathered in Webster Hall to greet five of their fellow workers, freed from prison a few days ago through the efforts of President Sigman, after they had served part of long sentence meted out to them as a result of Communist double-dealing and treachery.

The liberated cloakmakers, Brothers Abe Figowitz, Nathan Lenz, Samuel Cohen, Anthony Morandino, and Jos. Porensky, were given an ovation when they appeared on the platform, and their speeches were continually interrupted by salvos of applause, as one after another they told, without mincing words, the story of how they had been trapped by the Communists into pleas of "guilt" to crimes they were wholly innocent of, pleas that subsequently landed them in jail. An impressive moment of the meeting was when four girls, members of the Union, came up on the stage and presented huge wreaths of flowers to the

ex-prisoners in the name of the organization.

The meeting adopted a resolution in which greetings were extended to the freed men and thanks offered the International Union and to President Sigman for his tireless efforts in their behalf. Bro. B. Kaplan, chairman of the Joint Board, presided, and among those who spoke were Vice-President Julius Hochman, Jacob Halperin, and the ex-prisoners.

Figowitz Tells How Communists Wanted to Bribe Him to Betray Union

The first of the freed men to speak was Bro. Abraham Figowitz. He recounted in detail how the Communist leaders and their lawyer had forced him to plead guilty. All he could get,

(Continued on Page 2)

Lecture Program Well Received by Unity Guests

St. Fichandler, Pinsky Discuss Literature

The lecture season at Unity House, always an attractive feature, has started last week, July 6 and 7, with a lecture by Dr. N. B. Fagin on Modern Tendencies in the American novel. Dr. Fagin discussed the American novel before and after 1900, the rise of naturalism, and the possibilities of the novel as an expression of the class struggle.

On Wednesday, July 13, Mr. Alexander Fichandler will discuss "Psychology and the Labor Movement." He will touch upon labor's aims, organization tactics, leadership, etc. On Wednesday, July 20, Professor Robert Morse Lovett will discuss "A Social Interpretation of Literature." On July 10, David Pinsky, well-known Yiddish playwright, will be welcomed at Unity, when he will begin his Sunday morning lectures.

The lectures are conducted in the Pine Grove overlooking the lake. The talks usually end in informal discussions in which many of the audience take part.

'Left' Canard About 'Sigman Coney Island' Squelched

Amusing Tale of Sigman's "Millions" Comes to Grief When President of I. L. G. W. U. Offers Communists His Place in Lake Storm, Ia., If They Would Pay All Indebtedness Accrued on It

Left like a crew of generals without an army in the cloak and dress unions, the ousted Communist exchieftains, and their satellites in the Communist press in New York City, are brightening their dreary existence these days by spreading amusing tales concerning the leaders of the International Union, fantastic tales in which neither they themselves nor any of their readers believe.

The latest horror story that "broke"

in the Communist press appeared last week and involves a discovery by a "special correspondent" of the Yiddish Communist "Freiheit" of a "Coney Island," a "million dollar establishment" owned by President Sigman in Storm Lake, Iowa, his home town. On the strength of this "discovery," the Communists distributed a vicious leaflet in the garment district streets, abusing Bro. Sigman in their vilest vernacular and insinuating that he had come into his "riches" through the "sweat and blood of the poor cloakmakers."

The facts, of course, are, and they are pretty well known to some of the leading Communists, that President Sigman, after he retired from the Union in 1921, went to live with his family in Storm Lake, a country town in Iowa, where his brothers owned a small amusement place. Later his brothers withdrew from it, and he was

(Continued on Page 2)

Dressmakers Announce Moonlight Hudson Excursion, Sat'y, August 6

Palisades Hike Postponed on Account of Rain Will Take Place Sunday Morning, July 17

The two big dressmakers' locals of the I. L. G. W. U. in New York City, 22 and 33, will have a moonlight excursion on one of the largest river steamers sailing the Hudson on Saturday afternoon, August 6.

The committee in charge announces that it chartered the steamer "Machigonne" for the entire day, leaving Pier A, Battery Park, between 12 and 1 o'clock in the afternoon. The price of a ticket is \$1.00; children under 12 years of age coming with their parents will be admitted for 50 cents. A band will furnish music for the dancing, and refreshments galore will be served at the bar. Tickets are already for sale at all local offices and at the Joint Board office.

The group of active union members

which planned to have a hike along the Palisades two weeks ago, which did not materialize on account of rain, announces that such a hike will take

(Continued on Page 2)

Toronto Joint Board Ready To Start Unionization Drive

Special Emphasis Will Be Laid on Enrolling Non-Union Women Workers—Toronto Trades and Labor Council to Help

The Toronto Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U., after a couple of seasons of passive existence, enlivened from time to time by a defense fight against some employers who, after the Toronto Cloak Manufacturers' Association had severed its collective contract

with the Union some time ago, tried to break down work conditions in their shops, has now decided to launch a big organizing campaign that would put the ladies' garment workers' organization of Toronto on a more

(Continued on Page 2)

Freed Prisoners Get Big Ovation at Webster Hall

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they said, would be a 50-dollar fine, which they would pay. When he came up for sentence, he began to plead with the judge not to sentence him to jail, but the Communist lawyer interjected that the "union" would support his family while he was in prison, giving him thus another stab in the back. Finally he called upon the International for help, which instructed Samuel Markewich to act as his attorney, and subsequently his sentence was reduced from the three years to six months.

The Communists tried continually though their emissaries, to extort from him some sort of a "confession" involving the International and its leaders in criminal activity, but he steadfastly refused to heed their overtures.

Sigman Warned Prisoners Against Informing of Any Kind

In his talk, Jos. Porenzky, one of the freed cloakmakers, told the big audience how he, too, was compelled by the Communists to plead guilty. When he was finally brought before Judge Rosalaky, after the International had made several attempts to help him, for a reduction of sentence, he was asked to give information concerning the persons who had instigated him to commit "criminal acts." But President Sigman had warned him not to become informer under any condition even where Communists were involved and he followed President Sigman's advice.

Lenz and Cohen, who followed Porenzky, also gave an account of how the Communist agents time and again came to their cells offering them all sorts of inducements if they would only implicate the International in some crime charge. Cohen stated that once Sasha Zimmerman, a Communist commissar, came to him asking that he sign a statement against the International, promising that he would have it printed in the "Impartial" "Day." But he steadfastly refused.

Manager Hochman's Speech

General manager Julius Hochman of the Joint Board was the last speaker, and he brought out the point that the International has now opened the door to freedom even to such remaining cloak prisoners as, for party reasons or for mercenary motives, still trail behind the Communists.

"The Communists have hindered us and placed obstacles in our way, when we first undertook to free these men," Hochman declared, "but we are ready to help and not to obstruct the liberation of the remaining cloakmaker prisoners. I hope that these men will soon be free. The Union must see to

it that its members are not persecuted and not jailed if innocent. This always has been the tradition in our organization, until the Communist made their appearance within our ranks. The Communists were the first to introduce the nasty practice of sacrificing rank and file men to save of leaders. And it must be remembered that a plea of guilty in such cases means practically shutting off of every chance for an appeal to a higher court."

The Resolution

"Having listened to addresses of Brothers Lenz, Cohen, Porenzky, Figowitz and Marandino, the victims of the Communists, who have just been freed from prison, in which they tell of Communist irresponsibility and utter lack of conscience during the recent cloakmaker strike, which was lost because of Communist criminal negligence and failure to picket properly, and in view of the fact that these Communists caused innocent rank and file workers to be sent up for long terms in prison practically forcing them to plead guilty so as to create a few 'martyrs' for themselves as an excuse for raising money for party aims, and

WHEREAS, these Communists deliberately forced innocent cloakmakers to accept prison sentences so that they could save the skins of their own leaders, and

WHEREAS the Communists attempted to bribe the freed prisoners to become party to a "frame-up" against the International and against President Sigman, be it

RESOLVED, that we on Wednesday, June 29, 1927, heartily condemn the Communist traitors and intriguers in charge of the Communist Scab Agency, and pledge that we will not rest until the Communist charlatans are driven out of our Union and from the entire labor movement forever.

Having listened to the reports of our leaders concerning present circumstances in our trade and in our Union, this mass meeting resolves to throw itself heart and soul into the work of the General Organization Committee and to help rebuild our Union for the interests of all the cloak, dress, skirt and reefer makers.

The meeting in Webster Hall further resolves to convey its heartfelt thanks to the International and to President Sigman for his tireless efforts on behalf of the innocent imprisoned cloakmakers, who appealed to the International for help.

This meeting welcomes back the freed cloakmakers Cohen, Lenz, Porenzky, Figowitz and Marandino into the fold of our International."

"Left" Canard About "Sigman Coney Island" Quickly Squelched

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left in charge of the place, struggling as best as he knew to make ends meet. It is this country-town "casino" that the Communist ruddieries "captains" are today referring to as a "millionaire establishment" and a "Coney Island."

President Sigman Offers His "Coney Island" to Communist Party

When this canard was brought to the attention of President Sigman, who left last Wednesday for a couple of weeks' vacation, he prepared the following statement for the press, which contains an offer to the Communists of his "million dollar" establishment to do with it what they please, provided they pay the debts on the place and relieve him of all obligations. The statement reads:

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
COUNTY OF NEW YORK, } ss:

I, MORRIS SIGMAN, being duly sworn, depose and state that:

The Communist press has recently published a statement to the effect that I am the owner of a "Coney Island" in the State of Iowa, with all its appurtenances, i.e., cabarets, amusements, loop-the-loop, etc., implying thereby naturally that I am in possession of property that amounts

to a tremendous sum of money.

Since I am aware that some of the Communist leaders, and especially the "Freiheit", has recently begun to specialize in real estate, I am, therefore, making the following offer:

I am ready to sell my property to either the Communist real estate agents or anyone else who may want to buy it for a sum netting to me, for all my investments and labor in said property, no more than \$4,000.00 (six thousand dollars).

Furthermore, I do not restrict the use of this property even for Communist activities and have no objection if this becomes a source of income to the "Communist Party" in the United States.

MORRIS SIGMAN.

Sworn and subscribed before me this }
twenty-ninth day of June, 1927. }
SIEMON L. HAMBURGER,
Notary Public.

It now appears that this offer, which appeared in full in the bona fide labor press, has put the quietus on the recent Communist invention. They, indeed, attempted a feeble reply to it in their Yiddish daily, mumbling about "hot dogs," "loop the loop," and similar dramsclattery, but declined to accept President Sigman's challenge and slunk back into their daily mire.

Toronto Joint Board Renews Activity

(Continued from Page 1)

sound basis and would increase its influence in the local women's wear industry.

Bro. Sol Polakoff, the manager of the Toronto Joint Board, attributes the present weakened condition of the local organization, in a considerable measure, to the pernicious activity of a group of Communists in the Toronto locals, who acting jointly with their fellow disrupters in other cities, have diverted the energy of the workers from constructive work to strife and confusion.

In outlining the plan of the campaign to be conducted by the Joint Board in the near future, Bro. Polakoff stated its features briefly as follows:

"1. The Union will enlist the co-operation of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council to make an appeal to the Gentile men and women employed in the cloak and dress trades of our city to join the organization. The Council has already granted our request and elected a committee of the best known trade unionists in Toronto. With the aid of this committee we shall now endeavor to form an English-speaking local of women's wear workers in Toronto.

2. The Joint Board will issue a declaration concerning the internal situation in the local organization, and will call upon all loyal and true union members to become active and join the drive.

3. A similar appeal will be made to all non-union workers, and to such as have, for this or that reason, left the ranks of the Union, to return to it and to put their shoulder to the wheel.

4. The campaign will be started with a great mass meeting to be addressed by President Morris Sigman and by representatives of the Canadian labor movement and the Toronto Trades Council.

5. A big volunteer committee will be formed with subdivisions and captains, all to be responsible to and working under the supervision of the Joint Board.

6. The problem of organizing all printers in the trade will be dele-

gated to Pressers' Local No. 92, with full authority.

7. The co-operation of all friendly fraternal organizations, progressive institutions, and other labor co-operative groups will be enlisted."

The drive is to be conducted under the auspices of a special committee of the Joint Board and of a committee of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, aided by the officers and active members of the Joint Board. The campaign, according to Bro. Polakoff, will start preliminary work on or about July 15.

DRESSMAKERS WILL HAVE EXCURSION SATURDAY AUGUST 6

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place on Sunday morning, July 17. The hikers will get together at 9 in the morning at Dyckman Street Ferry in upper Washington Heights.

The group extends a hearty invitation to all wide-awake members of the Union to join them on this hike. An excellent time is practically guaranteed. The larger the party, the better. Come in comfortable hiking shoes and clothes, if you don't wish to fall by the wayside.

The way to get to the ferry: get the West Side Broadway subway, directly to 203rd-Dyckman Street subway station. If you live in the Bronx take any crosstown car across to Washington Heights.

COMMUNIST "SECRET COMMITTEE" PLANS TO SLUG UNION MEN

(Continued from Page 1)
people's conference, of which Feinberg is chairman.

A meeting of the "secret picket committee" took place this Monday, July 4, in a back room of Manhattan Lyceum, where the subject matter of the "traitors" was taken up for an earnest discussion. Among those slated first for an "accounting" are the I. L. G. W. U. members mentioned above. All the details of that meeting are known to the General Office, and should any part of this terror program be attempted or carried out, responsibility could be definitely fixed upon the guilty parties.



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A Talk With the Ladies' Tailors

By BORIS DRASIN

For quite some time I have not availed myself of the opportunity to speak to our members through our International weeklies. Not that I was short of material. Our local, having just passed through an organization campaign and a strike has enough subjects worthy of being analyzed, summed up and studied by our members. But as time passed, these matters were, in most part, presented at our meetings, and it would be too late to write about them now. The members who attend meetings are those who read our weeklies, and it would be a waste of time and space to call those things to their attention once more.

Speaking in general terms, I can say that during the recent season following our campaign and strike, we did not have much trouble in enforcing the new conditions agreed to by our employers. Here and there some of them have not taken their own signatures seriously, but these were made to realize that the Union and the workers in the various shops mean business and they were compelled to adhere to the agreement. The same can be said of such employers as have attempted to back out with regard to some obligations. In the majority of cases, these were small and comparatively insignificant shops. There were, however, a few of the larger firms, that seemed to consider this a proper time to line up with the employers in the cloaks and furs trades to do away with union conditions in their shops, too.

It is true that we have differences of opinion, regarding union tactics among the members of our local. We make no secret of that. But the fight here has not gone to the extreme. Our local still proves that it can hold its own, especially with regard to united action against such of our employers as try to catch fish in the muddy waters of internal labor disputes.

I will not mention the few small houses that employ bad faith with the Union. I should, however, like to speak of one of our bigger concerns, which appeared to be determined to line up with the open shoppers and to break the agreement with us. That is the firm of Nettie Rosensteln, Inc., 44 West 56th St., where about eighty people are employed, a number of them for many years past. Things were rather agreeable in that shop during the many years that the firm had run a union shop. There were no strikes declared by the Union against it, and each time an agreement expired a new one would be drawn up at a round table and signed. But the recent upheaval in the labor market seemed to encourage this firm, and, suddenly, its shop was closed and the workers were told to look for employment elsewhere. The Rosensteln's firm first completely finished their season and then discharged their help, at a time when no work could be found anywhere for months.

Here, too, however, it did not take the Union very long to make the employer open his shop and call in as many workers as could be employed. The workers were returned in proper rotation, as the agreement provides for, and by this time almost all of them are at work. Nevertheless, it seems that this house has not given up entirely the idea of running an open shop in the future. If this is the case, the Union is prepared to fight the matter out on the picket line and by all other legitimate union methods.

There were also a few cases of association firms not complying in full with the agreement. These matters were taken up by the office with the lawyer representative of the employers' association, and all cases were settled to the satisfaction of the Union and the workers involved.

We also had our after First of May troubles, as some of our employers tried, under the cover of varied excuses, to squirm out from paying the workers for that holiday, which, according to our agreement, is to be paid for. In some instances stoppages had to be declared or threatened. As a result, all complied with this clause and everyone was paid.

All in all, agreement conditions are fairly well lived up to in the trade. Contrary to the predictions of some authorities in the trade, our Spring season proved to be quite a good one, as in many houses it held out longer than has been the case for the past few years.

At this point I wish to call the attention of such members as are in arrears with the payment of dues. We are just past the season and if they do not make an effort to pay now, they may find themselves too far back at the beginning of the next season. We have ahead of us work and plans for the benefit of our organization which call for funds. If only every member would make a real effort to keep his union book paid up to date, there would be hope for accomplishments in the future.

International Starts Activities Among Boston Raincoat Makers

Meyer Polinsky of Local 20 Assigned to Take Charge

Meyer Polinsky, president of Local 20, New York Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, was assigned this week by the General Office of the I. L. G. W. U. to take charge of the organization activity in the Boston raincoat market which was voted last week by the General Executive Board at its quarterly meeting.

The assignment of Brother Polinsky is the first step toward the rehabilitation of the Boston raincoat workers' local which has been weakened materially during the past year. Condi-

tions in the Boston raincoat trade have become very bad of late, and are likely to affect adversely the New York raincoat situation unless improved in time.

An intensive organization campaign will begin in Boston at once. In addition, work to strengthen the raincoat workers' local in Chicago will soon be started. The entire energy of the International is behind this effort and renewed courage and a better spirit is already noticeable among the Boston workers.

Conference at Pioneer Youth Camp Sunday, July 17th

A conference of Pioneer Youth of America will be held Sunday, July 17, at the new camp site, Rifton, New York. The trade union movement of New York and vicinity is invited to send delegates to this conference, which will also be a celebration of the opening of Pioneer Youth Camp on its new grounds.

Until this year the Pioneer Youth camp was situated on the grounds of Manumit School, but this year it purchased its own grounds and has erected a modern camp with all possible safety and sanitary accommodations. It is located in a beautiful spot in the mountains near Kingston.

Among the speakers at the conference will be Norman Thomas, B. C. Vladeck, and A. J. Muste; it is expected that the local unions of the I. L. G. W. U. will send delegates. The delegates will be the guests of

the camp and luncheon will be served. They may return to New York the same day.

Traveling directions are as follows: Via Train, at Grand Central Station, 9:03 Standard Time (10:03) Daylight Saving Time, to Rhinecliff. Take Perry to Kingston and Miller's taxi to the camp.

Via Auto—State road to Peekskill, Bear Mountain Bridge and Storm King Highway to Newburgh. At Newburgh take road to New Palz. From New Palz take road to Kingston. Rifton is 6 miles south of Kingston. At Rifton take road past Central Hudson Dam (about 1½ miles). Then turn to right on first narrow road going toward hills to camp.

LABOR POET PENS SLOGAN FOR DEBS MEMORIAL RADIO

An unsolicited poem from A. Macdonald, noted labor poet of Seattle whose verse is famous under the pen name of "Glengarry", was received this week by Norman Thomas, chairman of the \$250,000 Debs Memorial Radio Fund, 31 Union Square, New York City, to symbolize the nationwide effort to perpetuate the name and voice of Eugene Victor Debs, the noted labor leader.

The poem, which breathes great affection and admiration for Debs, reads:

"Granite and bronze
For FORGOTTEN potentates
The FREE atmosphere
Of an AWAKENING world
For the DEATHLESS soul
Of EUGENE VICTOR DEBS
Whose MESSAGE brings peace
To STRICKEN nations
And draws ALL people
Into the FELLOWSHIP
Of WARLESS men."

—GLENGARRY.

Accompanying the poem was a note from Glengarry saying that he hoped his contribution might swell the funds of the campaign. The Debs Memorial Radio Fund hopes soon to announce the purchase of a high-powered broadcasting station from which the views of all elements of labor and progress in this country will be broadcast without monopolistic interference.

THE GOVERNMENT AND LABOR.

By Albert R. Ellingwood and Whitney Coombs (A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago).

In this book the co-authors have made a most comprehensive study of the relations between government and labor. As they state in their preface it is designed for use as a basic text book by instructors who favor the extension of the case method in the teaching of the social sciences.

The book tends to acquaint student and reader with the subject thoroughly by elaborate description rather than by pre-digested material. The 630 pages is a collection of illustrative material bearing upon the major problems which have grown out of the relations between government and labor in the United States. Most of it is of an official nature—judicial decisions, statutes, and administrative decisions and reports.

Students of labor problems and others will find it helpful, especially now when some decisions on injunctions have again brought the question of labor disputes to the fore. Those in the labor movement who are fighting the injunction will find much material on this question in the book.

It can be obtained through our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Office: 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel. Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer
MAX D. DANISH, Editor

Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year.

Vol. IX, No. 27 New York, Friday, July 8, 1927

Entered as Second Class matter, April 18, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1913.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 23, 1919.

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EDITORIALS

AGAIN ABOUT THE FREED HOSTAGES

Long after the last vestige of Communist brigandage in the needle trade unions will have vanished, long after this chronicle of ruin, hate and vandalism will have become labor history, that black chapter of this gruesome tale which deals with the deliberate railroading of innocent cloakmakers into jail in the interest of Communist party "policy" will stay alive for years to come in the memory of the present generation of our workers.

When everything else is dimmed or forgotten in the perspective of a past that finds an alibi or an excuse for even an ugly wrong committed in the heat of strife, this vicious gamble with the lives and freedom of workers will rise to pillory the Communist crew forever as devoid of honor, honesty and every elementary principle that qualifies men and women to be a part of the movement which has set for its goal the building of a new world for the toiling masses of mankind.

The more we think of it, of the motives and of the technique of that dastardly machination, the blacker and more unpardonable its aspects become. What contempt for the primary interests of the picket-prisoners these strike "leaders" must have been possessed of to consign them, through enforced pleas of guilt, cold-bloodedly to jail so that they themselves might escape! What moral depravity they must have been steeped in to deprive through vile devilry men who have fought and bled for them for weeks and months on the picket lines of a futile strike of a chance of their day in court!

But was this all? Was the Communists' motive in causing these men to be jailed for years this base desire to save the necks of their leaders only? Far from it. As the details of this unparalleled scandal are cropping up now, from the mouths of the freed men themselves, it becomes evident that the disciples of the Third Internationale had lodged these cloakmakers, who while members of the Union and faithful strikers were not Communists, in jail as hostages also in order to derive continued benefit from their incarceration. They wanted them as hostages in prison, Moscow fashion, so that they might perennially utilize them to collect money for "defense" and to exhibit them from time to time as samples of anti-Communist "tyranny." They wanted them in jail because they figured that eventually they might extort, from them, or bribe them into making "confessions" to the effect that it was the leaders of the International who had instigated them to commit illegal acts on the picket line and, subsequently, to frame up President Sigman on charges of assault and sabotage during the strike.

That this precisely was their objective is conclusively proven now by the account of the freed men of the frequent visits paid by Communist commissars to their cells. Regularly the Communist agents would appear in jail with "statements" and "affidavits"—all ready for them to sign—statements that would whitewash the Communist chieftains from guilt and would involve the leaders of the Union—and just as regularly the jailed men would reject these overtures. The money raised by the Communists ostensibly for the defense of these men never reached either the prisoners or their families but went wholly for the defense of the higher-up commissars, or into the regular party coffers.

Fortunately, this conspiracy, like most of the other clumsy plots of the Communist character-assassins was shattered on the rock-ribbed loyalty and the inherent honesty of our workers. The members of our Union have already excommunicated the "revolutionary" plotters from their midst, and the entire labor movement has seconded this verdict with vigor and acclaim. But, though the evil Communist influence in the cloak and dress organizations is now happily reduced to nil, the record of their infamy, especially the story of how they had jailed cloakmaker pickets for sordid party reasons and advantages, will linger long in the minds of our awakened and revitalized workers.

FIGHTING THE NON-UNION SHOPS

Forty cloak and dress firms were declared on strike last week by the International Joint Board, and many more will probably be called out within a very short time.

The Joint Board intends to put substance into its declaration made several weeks ago that it proposes to wage a finish fight against non-union production in the New York cloak and dress market. The slack season is now over, the shops are reopening, and the Union will strike the iron while it is hot.

The cloak industry especially is a union industry, and if there has crept into it, in the past few years, an inordinate number of scab or sub-standard shops, such an irrational state of

affairs can and should be remedied. The principal obstacle in the Union's way for remedying this condition undoubtedly has been the fact that the workers' forces had been divided by the pernicious Communist agitation. The loyal masses of our Union have known this to be the cause right along, and the employers themselves who openly or covertly fought the Union have known this no less.

But today the Communist pestilence is destroyed or neutralized. Once again the Union is now able to turn to its legitimate problems, the maintenance of union work-standards in the shops, and the sooner the non-union jobbers and manufacturers realize that the Union means business this time, the better for them. The first strike order affecting single shops issued last week ought to impress them, we believe, that it is not a fake "organization drive" such as staged by the Communist politicians a year or two ago, but a bona fide trade union move supported by the rank and file of the workers.

Another purpose which the Union has in view, and which it will carry out rigidly and without compromise, is the cleaning out of the union shops of every scab and non-registered element in them. There will be no dilly-dallying concerning this matter whatever. The loyal army of the International members has won its battle against the Communist disrupters and adventurers, and it would not be robbed of the fruits of its victory by permitting the disloyal and treacherous element to remain in the union shops to breed constant turmoil and confusion.

Such as remain unregistered and continue to defy the International Union in the shops are open and avowed enemies of our organization. They either openly support the outlaw outfit that is still trying to embarrass the Union whenever it can, or by pretending "impartiality" or indifference they are rendering equally precious aid and comfort to our enemies. For such straddlers or double-faced "trade unionists" the overwhelming majority of our workers will have neither use nor sympathy. These "peace" seekers wear but a thin veneer of "impartiality" at that. At heart, and often quite flagrantly, they are ready to attack and besmirch the Union and its leaders with hardly less venom than their spiritual parents, the regular Communist party politicians.

We have every reason to hope that the strikes declared against the individual cloak and dress shops last week—to strengthen the Union in some of its weak and vulnerable spots—will prove one hundred per cent. successful. It is especially encouraging at this time that the organizing work which the International is carrying on in Williamsburg and in the Bensonhurst—Bath Beach sections of Brooklyn, where a new large women's wear industry has sprung up, is meeting with gratifying results. Before the season is over a substantial part of the damage wrought by the Communists to the control of union work conditions in the shops should be repaired and the Union strengthened enough to be in a position to proceed towards the autumn to eliminate completely sub-standard and scab production from the New York market.

ONE HOUR FOR SACCO AND VANZETTI

By the time this issue of "Justice" reaches our members, the one-hour strike demonstration for Sacco and Vanzetti—this Thursday afternoon—will have taken place already. We hope, of course, that the organized workers of New York City will have taken part in this stoppage-demonstration on a great scale, and that our workers, in particular, will have responded like one person to the call issued by the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee, seconded by the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions.

It is no secret that the great Sacco-Vanzetti drama is now approaching its final critical stage. The fact that Governor Fuller of Massachusetts has now granted the two imprisoned workers another respite of a month and that the Investigating Commission, which consists of two college presidents and a former judge, has at last begun its work, appears to indicate that the curtain will soon fall on this world-famed tragedy. The public opinion of the country is today sharply divided on the Sacco-Vanzetti case—the overwhelming majority that comprises the work-masses and liberal and open-minded elements standing out in favor of a new trial, while the die-hard conservative and reactionary forces clamor for the heads of these two Italian workers.

The danger, however, consists in that the three commissioners and the Governor of Massachusetts, in a desire to please both sides, might recommend, instead of a new trial that would undoubtedly result in their acquittal, merely a commutation of sentence from the death penalty to life imprisonment. Such a commutation the two martyred Italian laborers and the millions of their friends and supporters in America and abroad certainly would regard as bad if not worse than a death penalty.

It is therefore the duty of every man and woman in the labor movement, during the remaining few weeks, to exert everything in their power to arouse public opinion to the peril of the Sacco-Vanzetti situation in its concluding stage. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, after seven years of indescribable suffering in jail, must be saved not only from the electric chair but from the no less terrible possibility of being cast for life into a Massachusetts dungeon.

Sacco and Vanzetti should be given the freedom of which they were robbed by a vengeful, biased judge and jury on perjured evidence either through a pardon or through a new trial, at which all evidence, new and old, genuine and fabricated, might be sifted and weighed by a jury whose eyes are not obscured by a veil of hate and prejudice. It is for such a disposition of the Sacco and Vanzetti case that the labor movement of America has fought all these years and for such a termination of it it will fight to the very end.

The Economic Conference In Geneva

As the result of its work, the International Economic Conference has adopted three reports, filling no less than 24 printed pages and comprising all the resolutions, suggestions and declarations of principles which contain what the International Economic Conference has to say about the economic sickness of Europe, and what remedies it proposes for her recovery.

There is no need to repeat what is set forth in these various reports—namely, that the patient has received the wrong treatment. This was admitted in the general debates by the representatives of those very industrial and government circles who are responsible for the wrong treatment. The diagnosis was correctly made years ago by the working class, although it is only now that it is solemnly embodied in official minutes. But it is only when we study this diagnosis attentively that we grasp the full meaning of the following words written by a Socialist observer in a Socialist newspaper: "The Labor representatives are greatly disappointed at the haughty bearing towards them of most of the economic leaders, financiers and industrialists at the conference. Especially in distributing the work, the representatives of capital showed very plainly that they consider the Labor leaders to be only second-class people. It was clearly to be seen that the gentlemen do not yet realize that Labor has an opinion of its own as to the way in which the ruling classes take their duty to mankind, and that this opinion deserves serious examination."

Labor Left Out in the Cold

It is in fact quite true that anyone reading the Journal of the Conference receives the impression that the Labor representatives were, as far as might be, left out in the cold; this happened in appointments to the chairmanship and vice-chairmanship of commissions, the selections of rapporteurs, the appointments to drafting committees, etc., etc. It was often as if a doctor who had long treated a patient had been, at a certain stage of the disease, set aside by arrogant specialists and forced to look on while these important gentlemen said with great pomposity the very things which he had himself said long ago in the earliest stages of the illness and prescribed in resonant phrases the very remedies which he himself had long since prescribed in much simpler words.

In point of fact these 24 pages of resolutions and recommendations do not contain anything which has not long since been quite clear to Labor leaders. There is of course one important difference: the Labor leaders have not feared to draw the uttermost logical deductions, while the resolutions of the Conference are at best compromises, cannot, in fact, be otherwise, proceeding as they do from an economic system under which the good of the community is only considered when such policy happens to coincide with the interests of a few capitalists, or of the employers' class of a given country. The health of the cow is only a matter of concern so long as she is wanted to provide milk for capitalists.

The Economic Conference was organized because Europe is economically very sick; its resolutions may therefore effect some improvement. From the outset the workers have always stood for the proposals embodied in the resolutions: the ruling classes have waited with great impatience till there was absolutely no other way out.

In giving below the views of the Conference, and affirming their value, it must also be pointed out that they go only a very little way, and that

What It Did and What It Left Undone

By I. F. T. U.

they must go very much further if the yare really to give the world what it has a right to expect from an international body which sits down to give serious consideration to the economic questions of today.

Commerce

The Conference sees that all narrow-minded national policy is injurious, that every country must make concessions, but then, when real cooperation has been brought to pass, it will know that these concessions will be balanced by corresponding sacrifices from other countries. The governments must therefore abandon an economic policy which is injurious to their own as well as to the common interests. Hence it recommends the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions, the simplification of customs formalities, the establishment of a systematic customs nomenclature, the conclusion of commercial treaties for as long a period as possible, the stability of customs tariffs, comparable trade statistics, immediate steps to remove or diminish tariff barriers, the universal adoption of the most-favored-nation clause and the facilitation of trade and communications.

Industry

Rationalization: one of the principal means of increasing output, improving conditions of labor and reducing costs of production is to be found in the rational organization of production and distribution, which is calculated to secure to the community a higher standard in the conditions of life, to the consumer lower prices and goods more carefully adapted to general requirements, and to the various classes of producers higher and steadier remuneration to be equitably distributed among them. Rationalization must be applied with the care which is necessary in order not to injure the legitimate interests of the workers; hence the Governments should give special attention to measures of a kind calculated to insure to the individual the best, the healthiest, and the most worthy employment, such as vocational selection, guidance and training, the due allotment of time between work and leisure, methods of remuneration giving the worker a fair share in the increase of output and generally, conditions of work and life favorable to the development and preservation of his personality.

International industrial agreements should not lead to an artificial rise in prices and should give due consideration to the interests of the workers.

Agriculture

The increase of agricultural production, and with this in view, the placing of agriculture on an equal footing with industry by enabling all those engaged in agriculture to obtain a satisfactory standard of living and a normal return for their labor and on their capital; promotion of cooperative societies and consumers' cooperative societies. Social laws insuring the welfare and security of workers should benefit agriculturists no less than industrial workers, and employees.

These are some of the most important suggestions and recommendations which the delegates took home with them. They are not binding on any one, as the delegates took part in the Conference in their capacity as experts and the Conference itself was mainly of an advisory nature. Nothing is said in any of these resolutions about any reasonable distribution of

raw materials of a practical kind, although this is essential to any economic cooperation and sound policy of production; nothing is said about any distribution of the total production of the community which will raise the standard of living of the masses of the workers in town and country by raising their wages, and by developing social institutions; nothing is said about any practical methods of removing or diminishing the obstructions to international trade; nothing about equalizing social conditions and conditions of work in all countries; nothing about effective international control of monopolistic international concentrations of concerns in the interests of the workers and consumers; nothing definite about international conventions for the abolition of prohibitions of import and export and the conclusion of customs unions; nothing about the establishment of some reasonable inter-state economic system; nothing about the internationalization and unification of social legislation; and nothing about the creation of national and international migration offices.

No one, of course, had any illusion as to the likelihood of even a part of the workers' demands being fulfilled; and surely there would be no cause for complaint if the first steps summarized in the above-mentioned 24 pages were to be really taken in the spirit of solidarity and mutual dependence of the nations which was so highly praised by all the delegates and quoted at every turn in the resolutions.

Eight Hour Day Ignored

Another reason for doubting fulfill-

"THE CONSTANT WIFE"

A play, absolutely in the tradition of first rate English comedy going back through Bernard Shaw and Wilde to Sheridan and Congreve and Wycherley, is "The Constant Wife", by Somerset Maugham, with Ethel Barrymore, at the Maxine Elliott. The play has the artificiality inherent in the expression through various characters of a single, distinguished mind—that of the playwright. But because the author happens to be better than his people, thus making them considerably unreal, they are not necessarily implausible.

It is a comedy of domestic inconstancy enacted in the home of a prominent London surgeon and everything is resolved as it would be resolved, if men and women were, not what they are, but what they ought to be. The surgeon has been philandering with his wife's best friend and all the world knows about it, except his wife who has a hard time preventing her friends from telling her about it. She doesn't want to know because, she says, she has no right to interfere. As the wife of a rich man, whose servants do the work for her and keep her in idleness and luxury, she is being paid her price. Her husband is fair and reasonable. He is devoted, despite his wanderings, does all the little things for her, keeps her in great style—well, why not wink an eye? Finally, when the situation is forced upon her by her friend's husband who finds the surgeon's cigarette case under his wife's pillow, this unusually sane and sensible woman calmly announces that it was she, and not her errand spouse, the surgeon, who left the case there while visiting her friend.

But, of course, there must be poetic justice, and it is neatly arranged. For, at about this time, a former admirer of the surgeon's wife drops in from Japan and it occurs to her that, since he still loves her, she

must have one more fling at love before it is too late. But she must be free to do it, she feels, and the only way is through economic independence. She goes into business, supports herself for a year and then calmly announces to her husband that she is going for six weeks with her lover. He raises a scene at first, forgetful of his own erring, but she insists and she goes, but not until she gets him to say that he will take her back when she returns.

The play is an adroit comedy, distinguished and decent. The playing is up to the hilt, Miss Barrymore as the constant wife showing her infinite capacity in her most suitable metier, that of a lady of the upper classes, though, this time, not even slightly spoiled. In a light-hearted way Maugham sounds a note that is bound to reach even, and especially, women of the working class for whom sex freedom and economic freedom must be identical.

RICHARD ROHMAN.

CURRENT BOOKS AT REDUCED PRICES

Our Educational Department is continuing its arrangements with leading publishers, which enables it to furnish books to our members at wholesale prices. Lately, very interesting books have appeared on social and economic problems, and also fiction.

Step By Step

"Step by step the longest march
Can be won; can be won.
Single stones will form an arch
One by one, one by one."

"And by union, what we will
Can be all accomplished still.
Drops of water turn a mill,
Single none, singly none."



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Winning Workingwomen To Unionism

By FANNIA M. COHN

CAN women be organized? Does not their temporary character as workers make that impossible? Have we developed any technique that promises success? I have been hearing questions like these for too many years. I'm getting tired of them. They lead nowhere. Today, when we recognize the value of experimentation in the social as well as the physical sciences, they seem particularly abstract. If we want to know whether women can be organized, and what technique is most effective to that end, we must attempt organization. Only after we have tried out a number of techniques, will we be able to decide whether the job can be done and how best to do it.

At best organization is a difficult task. The American labor movement has made strenuous efforts in that direction for sixty years and even today has organized only about 4,000,000 of the more than 17,000,000 men and women in industry. Yet we have never been discouraged in our task—never stopped to ask—"Can men be organized?"

From the earliest days, the problem of working women has been regarded as a particularly different one because of "feminine character." Women were different with mystical sex traits which made it impossible to reach them. Their psychology was not like men's; they did not want what men wanted, nor act as men did.

Fortunately, all that is changing. We are coming to see that women are human beings—with the same likes and dislikes, the same capacity for love and hatred as men possess. Their passions and desires, we see respond to stimuli very like those which appeal so strongly to men. With only minor variations, women desire of life what men desire, and they come to resemble each other more closely in their ways of thinking.

Recognizing this, we must look for an explanation of our past difficulties in organizing workingwomen in something other than their femininity. We find it first of all in their character as workers—they are young, in unskilled industries largely, and consequently poorly paid. Everywhere, among both men and women—the semi-skilled, the poorly paid and the young are not easy to organize.

Nevertheless in those organized industries where the conditions of the workingman depend upon those of the workingwoman—those industries where women are employed in great numbers, such as the garment industries—the unions have succeeded in organizing women as well as men.

According to Mr. Charles D. Keaveney of the Electrical Workers Union who organized the West Lynn plant of the General Electric Company in the 1918 strike, for instance, among the 12,000 workers participating about 40 per cent. were women. "The women were a big asset," he says, "and did wonderful work during the strike."

That is true, too, in the textile industry. In every strike women have gone out with the men, and displayed a courage and willingness to suffer for the formation of a union in strength second to none. They have

a particularly difficult problem here, for many of them are married, and besides working must care for a home and look after a few children. Yet they have always fought valiantly and everywhere disproved the assertion that mothers' devotion to their children will outweigh loyalty to the union.

We have examples of industries organized where women were not only present in large numbers but actually were in the majority. Here workingwomen have stopped work when their union was refused recognition, have carried on protracted and intense strikes, have stood all the suffering connected with such struggles. But more important, after the victory they have succeeded in retaining their union in fighting condition as a proper instrument for their protection. Such effective organization has been achieved in many locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the United Textile Workers. Local 33 of the United Textile Workers, at Salem, Mass., for instance, is composed chiefly of young women, and despite the doubts of many as to the possibility of maintaining it, has existed without interruption for eight years.

Here, despite the fact that the turnover in a union composed of young women is enormous, the permanence of the union has not been affected. The workingwomen have succeeded as have men in other industries in building up permanent working organizations with treasuries and officers and steadily improving conditions. They have accumulated experience and developed traditions, principles and policies strong enough to set their stamp on the workers continually entering the industry, so that the newcomers will stand for these established principles and be governed by these ideals. Gradually, indeed, workingwomen in many industries have developed a collective sense of responsibility and deep concern for all their fellow workers which persists after any single worker leaves.

Our failure to organize women in the past has had two other causes. First, our doubt as to its possibility has decreased the confidence of the women workers in their own abilities, and made it harder for them to solve their problems. This attitude is, fortunately, passing, as more men have the opportunity to see the courage and loyalty of their sisters in strikes, their willingness to fight and suffer in the battle of labor.

More important has been our failure to develop a proper approach to the workingwoman. For while it is true that her desires are like her brother's, it is, none the less true, that she differs from him in her attitude towards the solution of a problem.

It is not easy for one who recognizes the difficulties in the path of any organizer to hand out suggestions for doing it, to state definitely what method will achieve results. There are too many elements involved in organization campaigns—human as well as industrial. We must keep in mind the character of the group—its racial and social background; the locality where the organization campaign is planned—its tradition, its code of ethics, its conception of proper modes

of feminine conduct. No organizer will begin a campaign before such a study is completed. In the organization of workingwomen, as in the case of organizing men, other facts must also be taken into consideration—their character, their ideals, what inspires them, what appeals to their emotions and imaginations.

One problem which the organizer of workingwomen will face in a constantly decreasing measure, is the tradition of individualism among them. Their tendency to rely on individualistic methods for securing advantages is passing. The development of our social and economic life, which threw together millions of women in mills, factories, immense department stores and offices is creating in women a broader social outlook.

In the past, even the struggles for the fundamental rights of all women, were carried on by a few ardent pioneers, whose vision helped them to understand the need and whose personality and will power swept other women into the fight with them. But their activities changed the state of affairs. They created the group and today in every social institution, but particularly in the trade union, women must work in groups to be permanently effective—delegating their power to such of their numbers as can carry out their collective interests and defend their wishes.

In the development of such groups, workingwomen already trade unionists, will have to play a leading role. They must recognize their responsibility to their sisters in other industries and through their trade unions demand that the labor movement as a whole undertake the organization of women workers.

The question often arises, then, as to whether men or women should carry on the organization campaigns. There can be no answer to this question. No hard and fast rules can determine who will be the most successful in a particular case because of the many elements which must be taken into account. My own opinion is that both men and women can be useful in the organization of women. Each has something to contribute. We would not deny men's experience in organization; but we should not, on the other hand, pass over women's abilities for that task. Women's endurance, devotion to and enthusiasm for a cause, as well as their knowledge of the characteristics of their sex, cannot be disputed.

But besides this, there is the moral effect on a group of workingwomen of an intelligent capable woman organizer. I wonder how many people realize how women are stimulated by encouraging message brought to them by another woman worker who appeals to their courage, their sense of solidarity, their responsibility to their fellow workers. She stands before them as a living proof that a woman with ability has an opportunity in the trade union movement for development and self expression as well as for the service and leadership of her fellow workers in their progress towards a better life. The presence of a woman organizer, more than anything else, can help to overcome that lack of confidence in their ability from which women suffer more than from a lack of ability.

In these organization campaigns

whether carried on by men or women, there is reason to believe that one appeal can be made successfully—the appeal to the desire for power. In their struggles for better working conditions and the right to shape their own lives—economically and industrially, workingmen, forced to fight against powerful opposing interests, which enlist against the workers every respectable social institution—the police, the courts, the institutions of learning, the press—learned to appreciate power. Without it, they saw, they were helpless; with it, they might be masters of their own lives. Since they could hope for power only through their trade union this recognition of its importance stimulated trade union growth.

What men have learned from experience, women might well learn more rapidly. They would not have to go through every phase of the struggle, to come to appreciate the importance of power or the possibility of achieving it through their trade unions. And such an appreciation would go far towards building up and maintaining effective unions among them.

A somewhat similar appeal to the desire for approval might well be made. Women respect their fathers, brothers and sweethearts for their struggles and their successful efforts to organize unions as defenses on the social and industrial field. They can be shown that in an exactly similar way they will gain more respect from their fathers, their brothers and their sweethearts, if they, too, stand for their rights as workingwomen, insist on better conditions, on more leisure and on their right to have a voice in the determination of the conditions under which they work.

To such women as plead a lack of interest in unionization because they expect to remain in industry only temporarily an appeal to self interest in addition to these other appeals may be useful. These women can be made to realize that, although they remain in industry only temporarily, they, nevertheless, create a permanent labor force which competes with masculine labor and forces down men's wages. Their labor affects their fathers', their brothers', perhaps their future husbands' earnings and thus brings the labor problem home again.

But to succeed in our campaign, we shall have to make as determined an effort as we have made with workingmen. We shall have to convince workingwomen first that their conditions should be bettered. This task should not be so difficult for women's desires for the good things of life are not less than men's and they will admit at once as men did that their lives could be well enriched. We shall then have to convince them that conditions can be bettered. That task, too, can be accomplished if we develop the proper approach. One who realizes the complexity of the task will not suggest any one best approach. An open mind is desirable, a willingness to test each way to find the best. But such experimental methods should be successful. Wherever women have been organized—and their numbers increase from year to year, they prove the possibility of organization if by careful testing the best way for that specific case is found.

The Naval Conference

By NORMAN THOMAS

Americans interested in peace and a reduction of taxes for naval expenditures will probably be under great temptation the next few days to denounce the wicked British or the wicked Japanese, for trying to get the better of our peace loving American delegates in working out some formula for further reduction of armament. Now we have no particular confidence in anything the present British conservative government may do at home or abroad but it won't do us any harm to remember that essentially the United States, Great Britain and Japan are all playing the same game. All three nations for financial reasons, if nothing more, want to put some sort of upper limit on a mad race in building cruisers, destroyers and submarines. They want that limit to be so placed and so interpreted that each of them may get the maximum number of the type of ship it prefers. Since neither the problem of defense nor the existing distribution of naval strength is the same among the three nations naturally each nation will have its own mathematical formula to present. Good statesmanship will find some sort of compromise that ultimately can be adopted. The people at home can help that statesmanship by not getting too easily excited. Aviation is likely to change the whole problem of defense both naval and military in the very near future no matter what the experts at Geneva decide!

The truth of the matter is that we shall not be saved by any formula of disarmament or reduction of armament so long as we keep the economic and political organization that leads to fear, suspicion and the will to war. Nevertheless there are or may be psychological advantages in these discussions at Geneva. Certainly a new naval armament race would greatly add to the predisposition to war. Therefore we should wish well to this Geneva conference at the very moment that we recognize that of itself it cannot and certainly will not usher in any thousand years of peace. The difficulties faced at Geneva may prove educational if we let them appeal to our brains rather than our emotions.

THE COST OF LETTING

GEORGE DO IT

Samuel Untermyer has brought out the interesting fact that the City of New York has virtually paid something more than \$200,000 for the I. R. T.'s propaganda in behalf of increased subway fares. This money spent under the direction of that \$12,500 a year publicity expert, Ivy Lee,—some disrespectful folks have given him the first name Poison—was charged to operating expenses along with a lot of other items that have kept the City from getting a lot of returns on its investment. Subway workers as well as subway users have reason to bless Mr. Lee. It appears that he helped write the extraordinary constitution of the Brotherhood of Interborough Employees under which they are forbidden to join any union.

Now the motif of all this is not personal wrath against Mr. Lee or anybody else. What has happened and is happening to the City of New York under its amazing partnership with the subway companies will continue to happen to American cities and states as long as we have the peculiar notion that we must turn over public enterprises to private profiteers because the public cannot or will not

attend to its own business. We pay a big price for letting George do it.

Two things are necessary to change the situation: (1) That we break the hypnotic spell which the private profit makers have over us and (2) that we work out effective machinery of public ownership. This is a problem of nation-wide importance. New York City probably suffers less in its relations with its subway partners than many other cities. Public regulation has notoriously broken down. In New York State ten cent fares have been granted on the street cars of Albany and other up-State cities on the outrageous theory that companies are entitled to a certain per cent. of profit not on their original investment but on the cost of reproduction,—a cost which the cities have helped to create by granting franchises and otherwise. The experts of the Brookings Economics Institute have demonstrated that there is no solution for chaotic overproduction and continual labor strife in the bituminous fields except under some plan of national ownership. The particular plans which may be proposed for running street car lines, subways or coal mines will need careful thought and close examination. Any half way intelligent people ought to realize, however, that it is high time that we put our minds down to particular plans instead of leaving matters to profiteers.

MORE TARIFF FOR THE FARMER OR LESS FOR THE MANUFACTURER

Everybody knows that the farmer despite some recent increase in prices is not getting his share of "prosperity." At the League for Industrial Democracy's Conference the discussions of the farmers' plight to which Dean Carl Taylor and Ben Marsh contributed so greatly quickened one's perception of the difficulties the farmer faces and the reasons for them. They left the hearer still uncertain as to the remedy we should support. Our experts agree that there is no panacea and that agriculture must face certain far reaching adjustments. Dean Taylor hopes for progress through farmers' co-operatives; Ben Marsh through farming by agricultural corporations. Marsh thinks that any kind of subsidy would do harm by delaying the fundamental adjustments that must be made. Dr. Taylor feels that if the workers and manufacturers are to go on demanding tariffs the farmers must get their feet under the tariff table even though they cannot be saved by any such panacea.

We are very fearful that any form of direct or indirect subsidy yet devised will in the long run prove self defeating by encouraging a relative overproduction of the crops thus aided. In the meanwhile American consumers may be forced to pay a costly premium on their food. Therefore we agree with the recent argument of Dr. Spillman, one of the experts of the agricultural department, that if we are to pay a tariff or bounty on staple crops it must be on a limited amount. But what a tragedy it is that in a hungry world we should have to discuss the limitation of food supply!

A SUGGESTION FOR

TRADE ORGANIZATION

Why, we have been asking ourselves, is it so hard to organize the workers? Periods of prosperity have usually been considered good times

Labor The World Over

Tenth International Labor Conference

BESIDES the question of trade union liberty, the International Labor Conference, which met in May, also dealt with the methods of fixing minimum wages and with sickness insurance. As in the case of trade union liberty, the only point in respect of the minimum wage under discussion this year was the text of the questionnaire, the replies to which from the Governments will constitute the subject of a convention at a succeeding conference. A preliminary report on the subject issued by the I. L. O. gave the necessary documentary information in respect of this very thorny subject. It explained the existing legislation on minimum wages in the various countries and the methods in vogue in countries where there is no legislation on the subject.

As to the question of sickness insurance, the conference had to make its final decisions concerning two draft conventions and a draft recommendation which are to amplify and continue the work already done for years by the I. L. O. in the domain of social insurance. Draft conventions and recommendations concerning compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases have already been adopted.

Mussolini As Educator!

I N reviewing a book dealing with the employers' organizations of Italy, the Swiss employers' journal quotes the following pronouncement of Mussolini upon the "ideals" of his party: "In economic life we are consistently anti-Socialist. The class conflict is a fable. It should not be believed that capitalism, as the economic order, is near its downfall; the economic realities of today are the creation of hundreds of years, and cannot be smashed by a single blow; it will take as long to transform them as to create them. But for this very reason we are not anti-Labor. We do not desire to serve the masses, but to educate them, and if necessary, to thrash them."

It is no news that old systems are not usually smashed by a single blow, but have to be transformed by long

for union organization. Making all allowances for company unionism and the propaganda behind it, for factionalism in the trade unions and lack of drive in their leadership the situation has remained baffling.

Often we have been told, quite truly, that it is impossible to organize craft unions in modern industry. How, for instance, are Henry Ford's employees, who just at present are lucky to get a two or three day week, going to be divided up among the multifarious craft unions? Where does the guy who tightens up nut No. 999 all day long come in? Is he a blacksmith, machinist or carpenter?

But a mere shift from craft to industrial in big factory industries will not of itself save us, as the history of such a strong industrial union as the United Mine Workers proves. Now comes Abraham Epstein, expert on old age pensions with a brilliant idea explained at length at a recent conference of the League for Industrial Democracy on "Prosperity." He shows on the basis of close statistical examination that the failure of our unions to protect the workers against the insecurities of old age, sickness, and unemployment has given the bosses their chance. They have taken it with welfare work, especially group insurance. In 1925 one company alone, employing about 15,000 workers, gave out in sick and

and tollsome effort. But it certainly sounds a little strange to hear such sentiments from the lips of the man who has done what he could to introduce his system, not by long and tollsome effort, but at a moment's notice, by murder and arson, and by robbing almost a whole people of their elementary rights as adult citizens. That the class conflict is a fable, notwithstanding which Mussolini is consistently anti-Socialist, and consistently anti-Labor, is a fine example of Mussolinian logic; but good enough, perhaps, for declamation in the midst of a crowd of adoring "Black Shirts!"

Trade Union Liberty and Civil Servants in Greece

A FEW months ago the organizations of shopkeepers, restaurant-keepers, hairdressers, etc., of Greece struck in order to force the Government to continue the rent restriction act, which the householders were moving heaven and earth to get repealed. At that time the Civil Servants' Union, acting in the interests of their members, threatened to strike for the same reason. The Government is now anxious to prevent at any cost any collaboration between civil servants and other sections of the population, and it is therefore retaliating by persecuting the civil servants.

Capsalis, the general secretary of the Civil Servants' Union, and some of his comrades have been arrested on the pretext that they were acting under the orders of the Third International, and were desirous of overthrowing the state. Capsalis has been kept in prison for one and a half months, and the Government has sequestered the foreign correspondence of the Civil Servants' Union, a gross violation of trade union liberty.

A further encroachment on trade union liberty is a recent act prohibiting the Civil Servants' Unions from amalgamating or affiliating with the workers' organizations, on pain of imprisonment up to five years. The Civil Servants' International at The Hague has intervened, and has drawn the attention of the International Labor Office to conditions in Greece.

medical benefits almost as much as all the A. F. of L. unions together in similar benefits.

The union movement is in no position to compete effectively with employers in this matter. We hope the new A. F. of L. insurance company will fare better than those Brotherhood banks which a little while ago were so extravagantly praised as the hope of labor. Nevertheless at best this new insurance company by itself will no more put the employers' insurance schemes out of business than Warren Stone's banks and investment companies could drive the House of Morgan into bankruptcy.

What labor cannot do by itself against the employers' social insurance and welfare work it may do by using the State to promote such social insurance schemes as have succeeded in Europe. Mr. Epstein is entirely right in arguing that if the insecurity of the worker is minimized by social insurance he can better be won and held by the unions which can then address themselves without fear of employer competition along this line to genuine and fundamental improvement in the economic status of the workers. Social insurance through the State is not the be-all and end-all of labor's striving through political and industrial action. It is rather the condition of effective unionization.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

The General Executive Board at its last quarterly session in New York put the finishing touches to the program for an intensive organization drive against the open shops which have come up at such a rapid rate during the short-lived Communist control of the Union. Our members need hardly be reminded that the Communists, while in control of the Union, exploited it for the Communist party, and left the economic interests of the workers uncared for and unprotected.

To Bring Back Shops Lost to Union

Owing to the unprecedented slack in both the cloak and dress trades the Joint Board during the past few months could only perfect its organization machinery by carrying on a vigorous propaganda campaign among the members to prepare them for the coming drive and to overcome the pernicious Communist propaganda.

To this activity, however, was added an effort to prevent firms which sought to take advantage of the chaos created by the so-called "lefts" from carrying into effect a breakdown of conditions in their shops. In last week's issue of "Justice" there was contained a report that the organization committee called down on strike more than thirty shops, the owners of which were guilty of violating union standards of work. Many of these firms settled.

These were the main activities of the organization department during the slack season. But with the beginning of the month of July, as the industry is looking forward to the fall season, and the machinery of the organization department has been perfected, the drive is expected to start very shortly in earnest.

"Reorganization" Mainly Affects Non-Union Workers

How completely the International and the Joint Board are in control now, after the failure of the Communist wreck the Union, may be seen from the survey of the final effects of the "reorganization" carried out by the members of the Industrial Council, in June. This survey shows, as reported in these columns last week, that the cutters have felt but little the effects of this agreement provision. Only ten cutters were dispensed with and these were given compensation in lieu of their jobs.

This outcome was largely the result of the vigilance exercised by the office. Manager Dubinsky reported at the last meeting that there was not a single "reorganization" case involving a cutter that was not reviewed either by him or by Isidor Nagler, Manager of the Industrial Council Department of the Joint Board. One cutter received two weeks' compensation when he left the job.

While a greater percentage of the workers of the other crafts, operators, pressers and finishers, were affected by the "reorganization", the bulk of those who lost their jobs were, nevertheless, the non-registered workers. Many of these are now beginning to register with the International. On the whole, it is clear by now that the class of workers which has thus far failed to register belonged mainly to a group that sought to take advantage of the situation created by the Communists in order to escape their obligations to the Union.

In reporting on this situation, "Women's Wear" of June 23, states that it was "estimated that possibly more employees have been discharged as a result of being unregis-

tered than have been discharged under the shop reorganization program."

Executive Board Discusses Dress Situation

Following a report by Manager Dubinsky to the Executive Board on Thursday, June 30, on the situation in the dress industry, a lengthy discussion by the Executive Board members and officers on the necessity of an intensive organization campaign among the dress shops brought out the additional facts that some of the large non-union dress jobbers were beginning to establish cutting departments.

Before Communist disruption had made its appearance in the Union, organization campaigns at the beginning of each season, were an established fact. In such a way, the Union managed to keep well balanced the number of organized shops. The number of union shops that would go out of business at the end of every season would be counterbalanced by the newly organized shops resulting from the organization drives. But the Communists, who were mainly interested in politics, paid no attention to these seasonal campaigns, especially in the dress trade.

The Executive Board agreed that the situation in the dress trade calls for drastic action if conditions in the union shops are to be safeguarded. And the response to the call for activity in this direction has so far proved quite encouraging. After a meeting with the active dress cutters a sub-committee met in the office and a plan was at once put into operation.

The plan calls for all active members to enlist in this work by coming into daily contact with their fellow-members in the sections where cutters meet. To make the work more effective it is essential that cutters report to the office facts and names of cutters employed in non-union shops. These men, whether or not they are members of the Union, should be asked to report to the office after work hours in order to establish contact with the shops they are employed in.

Working Cards Ready For Exchange and Control

In line with the above mentioned plans members of Local 10 are required to report to the office to turn in their old working cards and exchange them for new cards for the coming season. Cutters employed in open shops must remember that they should take out working cards just as well as those who are working in union shops. Now more than ever the office will rigidly enforce the card exchange and the rule governing the working cards for the new season. This will enable the office to tell at a glance how many men are

What the Cutters Should Read in the "History of Local 10"

In the June 24th issue of "Justice," we printed the part of the "History of Local 10" which described the events leading to the amalgamation of United Cloak and Suit Cutters, Local 6, and the Gotham Knife Cutters, Local 17. The events described were marked by considerable friction, as the cutters were forced to contend with three organizations, the third of which was the Manhattan Knife Cutters. Page 66 is a continuation of Chapter 4 covering this subject:

"As the end of the year approached Gotham made no change in its policy. In the convention of the International of the previous June Gotham had protested against paying an assessment of 25 cents per member. Its protest was not sustained but it continued to refuse payment of this item. On September 8 when it received notice of its suspension Gotham received from its members \$48.50 on this account. The local then went into executive session and resolved that 'as long as the charter hung on the wall we go on with the regular order of business'. On October 13 Gotham was again notified of the assessment and \$4 was received on this account from members at this meeting but the only action taken on International Secretary Braff's request was to receive it and hand it over to Brother Chandler for safe-keeping'. On October 27 \$13 was received from members on this assessment, on November 18 \$3, and on November 24 \$2. On the latter date another request was received from Secretary Braff for Gotham to pay this account which was referred to a committee of five. Gotham then passed two resolutions, one that at the next quarterly meeting the members should decide whether they would withdraw from the International; the other, 'whether it would be advisable for us to form an international body of cutters and to have it a special order of business at our next quarterly meeting'.

"Meantime Gotham had participated in a strike and the Executive

employed in non-union shops and will give it an opportunity to enforce union conditions in such shops and to organize them.

For the purpose of the drive, especially in the dress trade, the working card system should prove of considerable aid to the office and of value in the carrying out of the adopted plans. The condition in the non-union dress shops, especially in view of the fact that many of the large non-union jobbers are opening cutting departments, calls for a rigid enforcement of the working card control system. The Executive Board means to discipline members who violate this provision.

Board of the International met in New York City on December 7. The board decided to remit the assessment to Gotham considering that it had been weakened in the strike and Gotham received this information when its members met on December 22. Notwithstanding this generous action of the International, at the following meeting Gotham decided by a vote of 47 to 3 to select a committee of seven to consider the advisability of organizing an international of cutters. This ungenerous attitude of Gotham continued into the new year and if it had been followed by all Locals of the International the latter would certainly have become a rope of sand. Aside from the special conditions which tended to make the American and Americanized cutters an exclusive group in the industry and the union, a theme which we will consider later, this attitude was prompted by fear of the immigrants, a desire to restrict the benefits of organization to a few, and inability to understand the wider significance of working class organization.

"The year 1904 opened with Gotham still being urged to pay its per capita tax which was due since the previous October and on January 19 Gotham's delegate to the Amalgamated Board reported that Local 17 was considering the question of giving up its charter because members of Local 17 were not permitted to work in union houses although there are more non-union than union cloak homes in New York. However, it was not till the following September that Gotham received final word that Local 17 had taken the definite step to apply for a charter to the American Labor Union. The Amalgamated Board considered the complaint of Local 17 (Manhattan) and referred it to Locals 6 and 15 for adjustment. Gotham's action was to send an invitation to the waist cutters of Local 17 to become members of Gotham. The invitation was certainly not an 'adjustment' of Manhattan's troubles but an attempt to entice some of its members and further weaken the East Side cutters.

"Two more requests were received from Secretary Braff by Gotham to pay its obligations but not till late in March were they paid and even this tardy action appears to have been taken to avoid suspension and in order to be represented at the International convention the following June.

"In February, 1904, a difference arose between Local 6 and Gotham over the cutters in the house of Florheimer, Roman and Hahn. The records of the two locals do not clearly reveal all that was involved in this issue but it would appear that Gotham desired to obtain jurisdiction over waist cutters in this house who held cards in Local 6. A conference of the executive bodies of the two Locals had considered this question early in February and on the 9th of the month Gotham's executive reported to the members that Local 6 promised it would do what it could in the matter considering that it had advised its men to stop working in waist houses. The members, however, doubted the good intentions of Local 6 and thought the committee had been imbibing hot air. Some members thought it futile to continue efforts to obtain the cutters of this house as Local 6 controlled the General Executive Board but a committee of five was appointed to continue negotiations."

Cutters' Union Local 10!

Owing to the warm weather, the next membership meeting will take place on the last Monday of the present month. This means on

MONDAY, JULY 25, 1927 in
ARLINGTON HALL, 23 ST. MARK'S PLACE

CUTTERS, SPECIAL ATTENTION!

All members of the Cloak and Dress Divisions are instructed either to renew their old working cards or to obtain new ones for the new season, beginning July, 1927.

Members found violating this provision of the constitution will be subject to punishment by the Executive Board.
EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 10.